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121 114 analysis have been in the main reserved for those features most intimately connected with the social organization.

124 Cultural data were acquired in interviews conducted by the "free association" method, with no preconceived organization imposed upon informants. Conversation was struck up with Indians wherever they were met, on the river in their canoes, around the camp fire at night, in their houses during drinking sprees, anywhere and everywhere. In these informal chats, a note-book was seldom used, but the interviewer retired directly following the conversation and made notes. Informants were frequently recalled to supplement information after the notes had been set down. In this way, without ostensibly directing the discussion or suggesting attitudes or facts, I was able to acquire a familiarity with usages and concepts which could be checked against each other independently. Having thus "blocked out" a certain department of culture, I then proceeded to a series of formal interviews with sober informants to clear up obscurities and further to check accuracy. In the text I have indicated those points concerning which there was important difference of opinion or on which I was able to obtain only unchecked information. Of the information which I have set down, therefore, I am either reasonably certain or have indicated otherwise.

121 114 It is to be regretted that documentary and archeological data concerning the Barama Caribs do not extend back more than approximately a century, so that it is not possible to view the present culture in the light of a long historic background. However, such historical material as is available for this tribe is presented wherever it is relevant to a more complete understanding of the present culture. On the other hand, this study makes no pretense to elaborate historical reconstruction. The purpose of the ethnological portion of this paper is to present Carib culture as it was in the years 1932–1933 and to attempt to understand the fundamental workings of that culture. The author hopes at some future date to complete a thoroughgoing ethnographic comparison of the culture of the Barama Caribs with those reported from other groups in the area.

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123 The investigator spent a total of seven months in the colony.

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Of this period one hundred and seventy-four days, or slightly less than six months, were spent in the interior with the Indians themselves. It is my belief that no ethnologist can say with authority that he intimately knows a culture, that he "has the feel of it," that he completely understands the psychological attitudes of the natives, unless he has a complete command of the language and has spent at least twelve months in intimate association with a particular group. With the time and funds at my disposal these requirements could not be fulfilled. Furthermore, the difficulties of travel and the necessity of making wide movements in order to collect anthropometric data limited the amount of time which could be spent on an intensive study of a single group of Caribs. Although I acquired a considerable number of Carib phrases and the ability to carry on a simple conversation, I make no pretense to a thoroughgoing knowledge of the language. However, a considerable number of the men are able to speak a rudimentary pidgin English and I was fortunate in obtaining the services of a Carib man, Alec William, who in his youth had acquired a comparatively advanced knowledge of English while working in a trading post near the coast. Relations with the natives were always of the best, and on the whole the Caribs entered freely into the spirit of the investigation, showing an eagerness to assist in giving and collecting information. In view of the conditions I felt that, in my limited time, more could be accomplished by gathering data with the linguistic means at my disposal. Consequently, such linguistic material as I have collected is more or less incidental to the main body of the work.

No contention is put forth in connection with this work that a six months' residence with the natives is equal to a more prolonged period of equally intensive investigation. Many of the subtler aspects of the culture might have come to light; certain phases which possibly have escaped me entirely, might have presented themselves; and probably a larger number of variations from the norm would have been noted after a more prolonged residence among the people. In regard to these matters I can only hope that the present paper will provide an adequate and an honest basis for future investigation.

In addition to those arising from linguistic disability and limitations of time, certain errors may come to light for which only

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594 represents one's family of orientation or one's family of procreation. A child is subordinate to both his parents, while a married woman is subordinate to her husband, and a married man is superior to all in the household.

594 867 The household group is the primary educational institution in Carib life; boys are trained in men's duties by their fathers, girls are instructed in the activities of women by their mothers. In the absence of club houses or other extra-curricula educational institutions, the home is the primary agency for the dissemination and formation of the socially accepted attitudes. Furthermore, the home is the primary economic unit of the community.

594 Membership in a household group is terminated by age, as in the case of children who grow up and form households of their own; by agreement, as in the case of certain types of divorce; by disputes, as when a husband and wife quarrel; or by death.

601 **The Kin.** Outside the more intimate relations of the family or household lies the larger group of the kin.

The kinship terminology is presented in the appended lists. In List I will be found in separate columns the Carib equivalents of English terms of relationship used respectively by men and by women. List II presents the English equivalents of Carib terms of relationship used by men. List III presents the English equivalents of Carib terms of relationship used by women. The relationship system is presented graphically in the Charts (Figs. 7 & 8). In the lists, certain terms will be found in parentheses; these represent alternatives or variants given by occasional informants. The terms without parentheses are those in general use. In certain cases prefixes and suffixes are enclosed in parentheses, indicating that the syllable thus enclosed is sometimes, but not invariably, used with the term in question. In the absence of contradictory evidence, I have assumed that the suffix *-ko* does not change the fundamental meaning of the stem of a kinship term.

124 Regarding the accuracy of the present lists, I may say that the terms were collected by the geneological method. Complete geneologies for two Carib settlements, Kariako and Sawari, were taken. The words were then checked through with several informants, in the abstract, and with case material at every opportunity. Finally, to check on the accuracy of my interpreter's translations, all the information was checked with Mr. and Mrs. H. Pestano

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124 of Towakaima. Both have received elementary educations in the colonial schools, and Mrs. Pestano, who was born a Carib, speaks the Carib language fluently and is personally acquainted with much of the case material.

601 Following is an analytical outline of the system:

ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

A. CONSANGUINEAL RELATIVES

I. Classification

a. Same generation as speaker

1. Parallel cousins are classed with siblings (with sex distinction).
   a. Exception: a woman calls her maternal parallel cousins (i.e., the children of her mother's sister) by the same terms which she uses for her own children.
2. Cross cousins are classed together (with sex distinction).
   a. Note: a woman calls her female cross cousins *yedole*, a distinctive term; but she calls her male cross cousins *iyao* (*ko*), the same term which she applies to her mother's brother.
   b. Note: a man calls his female cross cousins *takano*, but he also applies this term to his sister's daughter and the children of his female parallel cousins.

b. First ascending generation

1. Father, father's brother, and father's male parallel cousins are classed together.
2. Mother, mother's sister, and mother's female parallel cousins are classed together.

c. Second ascending generation

1. All members of the grandparents' generation are classed together (with sex distinction).

d. First descending generation

1. Man speaking
   a. Classes together in one group own children, brother's children, children of male parallel cousins, and children of female cross cousins (all with sex distinction).
   b. Classes together in a second group sister's children, children of female parallel cousins, and children of male cross cousins (all with sex distinction).
      (1) Calls the females of this group takano ("cross cousin").
2. Woman speaking
   a. Classes together in one group own children, sister's children, children of female parallel cousins (all with sex distinction).
      (1) Note: also included in this class are the children of mother's sister.

121 informants or locations, another dimension is added here. Individ-
114 uals can be identified and the establishment of trans-generational
• 124 continuity is possible.

121 Two areas of theoretical concern particularly lend themselves to
*177 investigation under the fortuitous circumstances of being able to
[161] trace changes occurring over time among a specific group. The first
is cultural change: the second, human population control mechanisms.

175 In regard to cultural change, until forty years ago the Caribs
*177 of the Upper Barama River were adapting to the equatorial rain
182 forest with essentially a lithic technology. They combined hunting,
[22] fishing, and collecting with a semi-nomadic form of horticulture.
[241] Currently, the majority of these Caribs are settled at a community
*177 known as Baramita Air Strip. They engage in wage employment, make
[465] use of regional markets for local products, participate in agricul-
[438] tural development programs, and benefit from national medical
[242] programs. From a position of relative isolation in the rain forest,
[657] this group has been increasingly encapsulated in the national
[161] political economy. Attending this development has been changes in
their population size and composition as well as internal organiza-
tion. These changes are a major focus of the present study.

121 In pursuing the analysis of these changes, cultural materialism
is relied upon as the most economical mode of explanation. Among
others, Harris (1968) has proposed that techno-environmental
determinants can serve in a comparative approach to cultural
adaptation. One example of this approach is Murphy and Steward's
comparison of the Mundurucu of Brazil and the Northeastern